

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06060 01 OF 04 111812Z

45

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 (ISO) W

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R 111225Z DEC 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3235

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3577

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 6060

EXDIS

SECTO 027

E.O. 11652

TAGS: PFOR NATO

SUBJECT: PRIVATE MINIS\*ERIAL MEETING

1. SUMMARY. LUNS CALLED PRIVATE MEETING OF MINISTERS PLUS PERMREPS AND POLITICAL DIRECTORS FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF REGULAR MINISTERIAL SESSION DECEMBER 10. MEETING LASTED ONE HOUR. SECRETARY SPOKE BRIEFLY REGARDING OUR CONCERNS ABOUT ALLIANCE AND REVIEWED AGAIN REASONS WHY WE FELT IT WAS NECESSARY TO UNDERTAKE EFFORT TOGETHER TO REVITALIZE ALLIANCE AND TO SYMBOLIZE DEDICATION OF OUR COMMON EFFORT. WHILE WE HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH RESPONSE, WE WISH TO CONTINUE WORK ON DECLARATION AND SALVAGE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FROM THE UNDERTAKING. OTHER MINISTERS WHO SPOKE AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF DECLARATION EXERCISE AND GENERALLY SUPPORTED SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS FOR INCREASED CONSULTATION BY ASSOCIATING POLITICAL DIRECTORS WITH PERMREPS PERIODICALLY. DISCUSSION WAS RATHER LACKLUSTER. JOBERT DID NOT SPEAK. END SUMMARY.

2. IN OPENING REMARKS, LUNS EMPHASIZED NEED FOR ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AND SAID ALLIANCE'S IMAGE WAS BEING DAMAGED IN PUBLIC OPINION BY FACT THAT SOLIDARITY OF ALLIANCE WAS BEING QUESTIONED. HE ATTACHED PRIORITY  
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06060 01 OF 04 111812Z

TO WORK ON ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND FELT MINISTERS SHOULD GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO PROPOSALS MADE BY SECRETARY FOR INCREASED CONSULTATION. HE APPEALED FOR FRANK AND OPEN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND SAID NOW IS TIME

FOR COOPERATION AND HARMONIZATION OF OUR EFFORTS. HE INVITED SECRETARY TO SPEAK ON PROBLEMS OF ALLIANCE WHICH HE HAD TOUCHED ON IN HIS STATEMENT TO PLENARY MINISTERIAL SESSION.

3. SECRETARY SAID WE HAD TAKEN LIBERTY OF SUGGESTING PRIVATE MEETING NOT TO MAKE PRESENTATION ON ANY PARTICULAR SUBJECT BUT TO MADE POSSIBLE AN INTIMATE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS OF A KIND WHICH WAS NOT FEASIBLE IN PLENARY MEETING. HE NOTED HE HAD STATED OUR CONCERNS FULLY IN HIS FORMAL PRESENTATION AND REMARKED THAT SOME OF EVENTS IN PLENARY WERE EVIDENCE OF THIS CONCERN. HE FELT THAT WESTERN SOCIETIES WERE CONFRONTING DANGERS IN ORGANIZING A EUROPE BASED ON DISTRUST OF US. IN RECENT YEARS THERE HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY FEW ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WITH WHICH PUBLIC COULD ASSOCIATE ITSELF; MORE SUCCESSES HAVE BEEN WITH OUR ADVERSARIES. THIS TENDS TO UNDERMINE ALLEGIANCE TO ALLIANCE AND THIS IS WHY WE UNDERLINED OUR CONCERNS.

4. SECRETARY SAID THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE DECLARATIONS WHICH ARE BEING DRAFTED AS LEGAL DOCUMENTS TO BE INVOKED OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE ATLANTIC NATIONS DO SOMETHING TOGETHER TO SYMBOLIZE THEIR DEDICATION TO COMMON EFFORTS. THIS IS AT A TIME WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES ARE DIFFERENT THAN THEY WERE WHEN ALLIANCE WAS FORMED. WE HAVE BEEN ASKED WHY WE TOOK OUR INITIATIVE AT A TIME WHEN THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

WAS BEING CREATED. THERE WERE TWO REASONS: (1) NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST WERE PROCEEDING ON A TIMETABLE -- MBFR, CSCE, SALT, AND VARIOUS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS; IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REAFFIRM THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ALLIANCE AT A TIME WHEN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WERE PROCEEDING. (2) THERE WERE DOMESTIC REASONS AS WELL. WE BELIEVED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH HIM WERE PROBABLY THE  
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 06060 01 OF 04 111812Z

LAST US LEADERS EMOTIONALLY ATTACHED TO THE ALLIANCE. WE WANTED TO USE THE WHOLE REMAINING PERIOD OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING WHICH WOULD CONVINCE THOSE WHO COME LATER OF THE NEED FOR ASSOCIATION WITH THE ALLIANCE.

5. SINCE THEN, THE DEBATE HAS BEEN CONTRARY TO OUR AIM. THE OBSESSION WITH ADVERSARY RELATIONS PERSISTS. WE WANT A NEW DEDICATION TO THE ALLIANCE. OUR HOPES ALREADY HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED, BUT TO THE EXTENT THAT THE EFFORT CAN BE SALVAGED, WE WANT TO CONTINUE IT.

6. LUNS EMPHASIZED THAT DECLARATION SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS NEW TREATY OR LEGAL DOCUMENT. HE PRAISED US INITIATIVE,

ALTHOUGH NOTING THAT IT WAS SOMETHING WHICH SHOULD NOT  
BE REPEATED EVERY FEW YEARS.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 06060 02 OF 04 111832Z

46

ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3236

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 USNATO 6060

EXDIS - SECTO 27

7. DOUGLAS-HOME FELT WE SHOULD GET DOWN TO PRACTICAL  
WORK ON THE DECLARATION. HE THOUGHT IT WAS WELL TO  
RESTATE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ALLIANCE ALTHOUGH THIS  
REALLY SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT SINCE THE BASIC  
SITUATION -- IN WHICH THE WEST CONFRONTS A POWERFUL SOVIET  
UNION -- HAS NOT CHANGED. DOUGLAS-HOME MENTIONED  
FORTHCOMING TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY AND SAID THIS WOULD  
BE EXCELLENT OCCASION TO SIGN DECLARATION. IF  
PRESIDENT NIXON COULD BE PRESENT, IT WOULD BE VERY GOOD.

8. DOUGLAS-HOME FELT CONSULTATIVE PROCESS  
SHOULD BE IMPROVED SO THAT SITUATION SUCH AS WE HAVE  
BEEN THOUGHT CONCERNING MIDDLE EAST CRESIS COULD BE  
AVOIDED. HE FELT SUGGESTIONS OF DR. KISSINGER WERE MOST  
VALUABLE ON THIS SCORE AND MUST BE CONSIDERED. DOUGLAS-  
HOME SAID THERE CLEARLY WAS NOT A QUESTION OF RIVALRY  
BETWEEN US AND EUROPE OR OF ADVERSARY RELATIONS. THIS  
WOULD BE VERY WRONG. BUT WHEN UNITY OF NINE IS BEING  
BUILT, IT NEEDS ITS IDENTITY AND THERE WILL BE QUESTIONS  
ON WHICH THEY WILL DIFFER WITH US.

9. DOUGLAS-HOME SAID POSITION WAS ONE CONCERNING  
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND EC.  
HOWEVER, THERE MUST BE WAYS OF HAVING CONSULTATIONS ON  
A CLEARING-HOUSE BASIS. HE FELT US DID NOT WISH TO  
INHIBIT EUROPE AND EUROPE SHOULD BE AWARE OF US VIEWS

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06060 02 OF 04 111832Z

ON ISSUES.

10. DOUGLAS-HOME ALSO THOUGHT WE SHOULD LOOK AHEAD TO SEE WHAT MATTERS MIGHT BE COMING UP IN FUTURE OUTSIDE OF ALLIANCE WHERE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONSULT. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN TITO DIES, THIS WILL HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO AND WE SHOULD REFLECT ON THIS. DOUGLAS-HOME THOUGHT CONSULTATIONS MUST BE IMPROVED ALL ALONG THE LINE AND COMMENTED THEY SHOULD NOT BE HELD AT TOO HIGH A LEVEL.

11. LUNS APPROVED IDEA OF SIGNING DECLARATION AT TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, WHICH HE NOTED WOULD BE IN APRIL. LUNS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE EXCELLENT IDEA IF PRESIDENT NIXON COULD ATTEND ALTHOUGH HE NOTED HIS BELIEF THAT PRESIDENT COULD NOT COME UNLESS HIS EQUALS WERE ALSO IN ATTENDANCE.

12. ON CONSULTATIONS, SECRETARY SAID THERE WERE TWO ASPECTS: (1) THERE ARE FORMAL OBLIGATIONS EACH COUNTRY HAS AND (2) THERE ARE INTANGIBLE ELEMENTS OF WHAT COUNTRIES FEEL TOWARD EACH OTHER AND HOW THEY ACT IN THEIR RELATIONS. WE HAVE CONSULTED VERY CLOSELY IN PAST WITH SOME COUNTRIES WHERE WE HAVE HAD NO LEGAL OBLIGATIONS BUT RELATIONS HAVE BEEN VERY DEEP. THIS SAME CONTACT SHOULD DEVELOP BETWEEN US AND EUROPE AS IT BECOMES MORE UNIFIED AND SOMEDAY SPEAKS WITH ONE VOICE. IN INTERIM, SECRETARY URGED THAT COUNTRIES PAY ATTENTION TO INTANGIBLE ELEMENTS; IF THEY DO SO, THEN LEGAL ISSUE OF CONSULTATION OBLIGATIONS WOULD NOT ARISE.

13. LUNS REFERRED TO THREE WISE MEN'S REPORT WHICH HAD CALLED FOR CONSULTATIONS IN ALLIANCE ON MATTERS INVOLVING ONLY ONE OF ITS MEMBERS. MIDDLE EAST CRISIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN SUBJECT FOR CONSULTATION EVEN BEFORE WAR BROKE OUT. SUCH CONSULTATION NEED NOT BE PUBLICIZED BUT WOULD BE USEFUL.

14. BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SUPPORTED SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION FOR CONSULTATION PROCEDURE INVOLVING POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND FELT THEY COULD MEET WITH PERMREPS ON EVE OF EVERY MINISTERIAL SESSION TO IDENTIFY POLITICAL  
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 06060 02 OF 04 111832Z

PROBLEMS WHICH COULD ARISE. DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER AGREED AND SUGGESTED THAT NAC SHOULD STUDY PROPOSAL AND COME UP WITH RECOMMENDATIONS WITHIN SPECIFIC PERIOD OF TIME ON MEETINGS INVOLVING POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND SUBJECTS ON WHICH THERE COULD BE MORE CONSULTATION. LUNS RECALLED SUCCESSFUL CONSULTATIONS IN PAST BY NAC ON CONGO, NETHERLANDS PROBLEMS IN FAR EAST, CYPRUS, AND ICELAND. NETHERLANDS FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF PROCEEDING ON ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND CONCLUDING WORK ON IT.

15. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED INTEREST OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF NINE IN STRENGTHENING CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES. WHETHER COUNTRY IS IN NINE OR NOT, IT WAS ALWAYS GOOD FOR ATLANTIC COMMUNITY TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION IN AS FULL A MANNER AS POSSIBLE. HE SUPPORTED IDEA OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING WITH PERMREPS.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 06060 03 OF 04 111847Z

50

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 USNATO 6060

EXDIS

SECTO 27

16. NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED BY SECRETARY'S COMMENTS CONCERNING LACK OF EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO ALLIANCE ON PART OF NEW GENERATION. HE THOUGHT THIS PROBLEM DESERVED SPECIAL ATTENTION. HE ALSO AGREED THAT PROBLEM DESERVED SPECIAL ATTENTION. HE ALSO AGREED THAT CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES COULD BE IMPROVED. NORWEGIAN WELCOMED COOPERATION OF TWO SUPER POWERS AND SAID THIS WAS CERTAINLY BETTER THAN ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THEM. HOWEVER, THIS SITUATION ALSO CAUSED SOME PROBLEMS FOR ALLIANCE. THESE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED OBJECTIVELY AND IT WAS NOT USEFUL TO ATTACK ONE OF SUPER POWERS.

17. LUNS, SPEAKING ABOUT FRENCH TEXT OF DECLARATION, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT DIFFICULTIES IN PHRASING REGARDING UK AND FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES. PRESENT PHRASEOLOGY MIGHT BE INTERPRETED BY SOME AS INDICATING THAT ALLIANCE IS SEEKING INDEPENDENT ATOMIC ROLE FOR EUROPE. HE THOUGHT THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE REGARDED REALISTICALLY AND IT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED SIMPLY THAT FRANCE AND UK PRESENTLY HAVE ATOMIC CAPABILITY WHICH SHOULD BE SEEN AS ADDITION TO US DETERRENT. HE WAS CONFIDENT FRENCH AND DUTCH AMBASSADORS WOULD BE ABLE TO FIND WORDS TO DO JUSTICE TO THIS REALITY.

18. LUNS ALSO SPOKE ABOUT LANGUAGE IN TEXT ABOUT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND IMPLIED THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06060 03 OF 04 111847Z

THING FOR ALL COUNTRIES IN ALLIANCE TO POINT TOWARD IDEAL OF DEMOCRATIC VIRTUES EVEN IF THEY MIGHT PRESENTLY BE LACKING IN SOME INSTANCES. LUNS WELCOMED US CONTRIBUTION IN CONCENTRATING ON THREE PARTICULAR POINTS IN FRENCH DRAFT AND HOPED THAT COMMENTS BY OTHER COUNTRIES COULD BE SIMILARLY CONDENSED.

19. DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE HAD IMPRESSION FROM SECRETARY'S REMARKS THAT US FELT EUROPE WAS PROGRESSING FASTER TOWARD UNITY THAN EUROPEAN THEMSELVES FEEL IS CASE. ACTUALLY, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN POLITICAL AREA IN EUROPE BUT EUROPEANS FEEL IT IS VERY SLOW. FOREIGN MINISTER DENIED THAT EUROPEANS WANTED TO HAVE CONFRONTATION WITH US OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS NEW PHENOMENON FOR NINE TO WORK AS GROUP; THIS WAS NECESSARY AND DISCUSSIONS HAD TO TAKE PLACE BETWEEN NINE.

20. LUNS COMMENTED THAT HE WAS DELIGHTED WHEN NINE CONSULTED WITH EACH OTHER BUT HE FELT THAT WHEN IT WAS ON QUESTION AFFECTING ALLIANCE, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF NINE DID NOT ARRIVE AT COMMON DECISION BEFORE COMING TO ALLIANCE. THIS CREATED IMPRESSION OF A BLOC.

21. SECRETARY, IN COMMENTING ON DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS, SAID US DOES NOT BELIEVE EUROPEAN UNITY IS PROCEEDING TOO FAST. IF IT COULD GO FASTER, WE WOULD SUPPORT IT. WHAT WE OBJECT TO ARE PROCEDURES WHICH COMMUNITY ADOPTS VIS-A-VIS US. THEY SEEM TO FEEL THAT IN ORDER TO GET UNITY THEY MUST BE AGAINST US. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT FEEL THAT UNITY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH ASSOCIATION WITH US. WE DON'T WANT TO INTERFERE WITH EUROPEAN DECISIONS. WE HAVE NO PROBLEM IF COMMUNITY WISHES TO TAKE STAND ON MIDDLE EAST OR ON APPROACH TO JAPAN, BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS FIRST. WHOLE MEANING OF NIXON DOCTRINE IS AGAINST CENTRALIZATION OF ALL DECISION-MAKING IN WASHINGTON. THUS, WE DO NOT OBJECT TO DECISIONS TAKEN BY COMMUNITY, BUT WE ARE CONCERNED WITH PROCEDURES ADOPTED BY NINE AND WE SAW EXAMPLE OF THEM TODAY IN PLENARY.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 06060 03 OF 04 111847Z

2. FRG FOREIGN MINISTER OBSERVED THAT, BY 1980, THERE MAY NOT BE FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF NATO BUT THERE MIGHT BE LESS SINCE COMMUNITY COULD BE REPRESENTED BY SINGLE PERSON. HE SHARED VIEWS OF SECRETARY THAT COMMUNITY SHOULD DEVELOP AS PARTNER OF US. THIS WAS ALREADY TRUE

ON SECURITY MATTERS IN NATO BUT EC SHOULD BE PARTNER IN OTHER FIELDS AS WELL. THERE ARE DISAGREEMENTS WITH US BUT THESE SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FULLY. SCHEEL THOUGHT CONSULTATION SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND THAT WE SHOULD FIND A MECHANISM TO RECOGNIZE TENDENCY TOWARD UNITY IN EUROPE AS WELL AS INCREASED NEED FOR CONSULTATION.

23. CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAID CANADA WAS CONCERNED ABOUT POLARIZATION IN COUNCIL. HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY SECRETARY CONCERNING OPPOSING STANDS OF US AND NINE. AT SAME TIME HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DECISIONS FOR ALLIANCE WOULD NEVER BE MADE SIMPLY BETWEEN NINE AND US RATHER THAN IN COUNCIL.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 06060 04 OF 04 111851Z

42

ACTION SS-30

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 USNATO 6060

EXDIS

24. BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAID WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES BETWEEN NINE AND FIFTEEN. NAC WAS FORUM FOR FIFTEEN AND THERE WERE OTHER BODIES WHERE NINE CONSULTED. HE FELT THAT TODAY'S DISCUSSION PROVED THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE OVERLAP BETWEEN THEM.

25. LUNS ASKED IF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER WISHED TO MAKE ANY REMARKS BUT JOBERT DECLINED.

26. IN CONCLUDING REMARKS, LUNS SAID HE FELT THERE HAD BEEN GOOD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. HE FELT EVERYONE AGREED THAT NAC SHOULD PURSUE WORK ON ATLANTIC DECLARATION AS WELL AS FOLLOWING UP ON SUGGESTIONS MADE BY SECRETARY. HE WENT ON TO EXPRESS GREAT CONCERN ABOUT STATUS OF DEFENSE BUDGETS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OFFICIALS WOULD SUPPORT NEED FOR INCREASED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES WITH VIGOR. LUNS MENTIONED FORMULA ON BURDEN-SHARING PROPOSED BY DPC AND ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY DISSENTS CONCERNING THIS FORMULA (THERE WAS NONE). HE RECALLED US DEFENSE MINISTER SCHLESINGER'S REMARKS

THAT IMPROVEMENT BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THEIR DEFENSE  
EFFORT WOULD BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR US.

27. LUNS ALSO DISCUSSED BRIEFLY PROCEDURES IN CONDUCTING  
PLENARY MINISTERIAL MEETING, STRESSING THAT HE HOPED FOR  
MORE INFORMAL DEBATE AND POSSIBILITY FOR EXCHANGING  
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06060 04 OF 04 111851Z

VIEWS FRANKLY. HE ASKED ALL TO GIVE THOUGHT AS TO HOW  
THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED. LONG STATEMENTS WERE NOT THE  
BEST WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS AIM AND HE ASKED THAT NAC  
CONSIDER MATTER FURTHER.

28. BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SUGGESTED, IN CONNECTION  
WITH FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF ALLIANCE, THAT IT  
MIGHT BE WELL TO HAVE FINANCE MINISTERS PRESENT AT REGULAR  
MINISTERIAL SESSIONS. DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER AND LUNS  
INDICATED THIS COULD BE CONSIDERED BUT NO CONSENSUS  
DEVELOPED ON SUGGESTION. KISSINGER

SECRET

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